

# American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REGIONAL OFFICE

1830 Sutter Street

San Francisco 15, California



## NATIONAL OFFICE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Henry Cadbury, *Chairman*

Lewis Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

Telephone, WEst 1-1825

## REGIONAL OFFICE

Wm. Allen Longshore, Jr., *Chairman*

Fred Fellow, *Treasurer*

Stephen Thiermann, *Executive Secretary*

## FARM LABOR PROJECT

Route 4, Box 113-X

VISALIA, CALIFORNIA

February 20, 1958

Henry Anderson  
145 Dartmouth Place  
Claremont, Calif.

Dear Hank:

I was sorry to miss you when you were here the other day, for I had several questions I would like to have discussed with you.

From several sources comes information to this effect, that the men entering the United States from Mexico have an incidence of venereal disease of less than 3%, but when returning to Mexico the incidence is almost 40%. Do you have any information on the actual situation?

The Service Committee is contemplating putting a man in the field to work in the bracero camps. His responsibility would be to help the men with literacy classes in both English and Spanish, recreation programs, and their adjustment to the American culture. The idea is to return to them some of the hospitality which they have shown by coming to "save our crops".

Of course the success of such a program would depend largely upon the acceptance of the idea by the growers. We have attempted to get lists of growers from the Farm Placement Service without success. I wonder if you could supply us with names and addresses of users of braceros? How have you made your contacts? Do you have any suggestions to make concerning the role which the Service Committee might play?

Sincerely,

*BARD*

Bard McAllister

BMCA:o

*I've misplaced your correct address!*



February 25, 1958  
670 Doane Avenue,  
Claremont, Calif.

*McAllister*

Dear Bard,

I am enclosing some of my research findings which you may find interesting. A few comments may be in order.

(1) I am omitting the Spanish and English versions of the questionnaire employed in interviews with braceros.

(2) Table 2: these figures are not available in this form elsewhere, so far as I know. I once asked Ernesto Galarza how much the U.S. taxpayers had shelled out for the bracero program, and he estimated \$30,000,000. He was altogether too modest. The 1943-1947 data include costs of medical care, transportation, feeding, etc., which were borne by the U.S. Government at that time. 1952-1958 data include only rents and salaries. (Salaries of top administrators, such as Regional Bureau of Employment Security directors, and Washington officials, are not included, however.) You will often hear that expenses of the bracero program are in the long run borne by growers who contribute to a "revolving fund." This fund only applies to transportation and feeding. It covers none of the costs covered in this table.

(3) Tables 7 and 8 raise a point which I have not encountered elsewhere, but which may be worthy of mention. When it comes time to assign responsibility for the existence of That Program, let us not forget the role of the great, faceless, consuming public. Through its food tastes, it has a good deal to say about how many casual laborers are required on U.S. farms. I do not suggest that we return to the starch diet of 50 years ago. Nor do I suggest that the word "blame" be employed here. I suggest only the concept of "responsibility." John and Jane Doe, who love their fruits and vegetables, ought to know at what human price those foodstuffs reach their table. Once given this information, I believe Mr. and Mrs. Doe will respond. I think they prove as anxious as you or I too see that indecency and inequity are cleansed from their produce.

(4) I am not sufficiently competent in agricultural economics to interpret Table 11 fully, but from my lay point of view, it looks as though the #1 villain of this piece, if villain there be, is the middleman. It appears that under existing arrangements, the grower is squeezed mercilessly by wholesalers and canneries.

(5) Table 17: these figures should be updated, but it is impossible to get anything from the Mexican Government save a cloying web of self-praise and self-deception.



(6) Table 19: The Department of Labor never gives out anything but figures on original contracts issued. (445,000 in 1956.) Do not be misled. A meaningful figure must include, at the very least, recontracts as well -- i.e., the men who are shifted to another employer. This boosts the total by 10%. In my judgment, the total should also include extensions of contracts, most of which are for longer periods than the original contracts. They boost the total by some 78% in California -- to more than 278,000 in 1957.

(7) Table 24: since I gathered these data, I have come across some even more intriguing data in the Sacramento files of the Farm Placement Service. On the basis of D.E. 881 reports from Farm Placement Representatives in the field, it appears that braceros made up the following percentages of the transient farm labor force in selected months of 1957:

Month	Percentage
February	36
March	50
April	42
May	39
July	38
September	40.

Since these are substantially higher percentages than those I have calculated on the basis of the data issued the public by F.P.S., I gather that a different definition of seasonal farm labor is used by Farm Placement Representatives in making up their D.E. 881 reports. In any event, California agriculture is much more dependent upon braceros than you would conclude from statements to the press, and to congressional inquiries, by Mr. Hayes and his friends. (Small "f.")

(8) Table 26: I dug these figures out of the archives in Sacramento, and I think they are not available elsewhere. They show that over-all statistics, such as those directly above, mask the complete dominance by braceros of many important crops in many important agricultural areas of California. The percentage of braceros runs over 95% in a number of instances, and it might just as well read 100%, since the remaining handful in these instances are domestics employed as foremen and "pushers." On the othershand, braceros make up a relatively small proportion of the labor force in Kern, Kings, Tulare, and Fresno Counties. (The proportion that is required to induce a chaotic labor market is the important point; unfortunately, one I am not qualified to go into.)

(9) Table 27: an Area Supervisor of the State Division of Housing tells me it is his guess that more than 90% of these camps are farm labor camps (the rest being railroad and lumbering camps, etc.), and that approximately 90% of all farm labor camps are bracero camps. This would amount to something over 5,600 bracero camps in California which are known to Division of Housing inspectors. With regard to bracero camps which are not known to the authorities, I have some quotes from Division of Housing representatives which you might be interested in seeing some time.

(10) Table 28: isn't worth the paper it's dittoed on.

(11) Table 30 and 31: I can't stress too strongly that these data -- specifically, the data from the company which writes bracero health insurance -- are not for distribution. Not yet.

(12) Table 39 and 40: some wage trend data culled from Mr. Hayes' weekly farm labor reports. I am particularly fond of Table 39, which covers the fifteen year period of the bracero program, and which is not available elsewhere. (Table 40 is based on Harvey Richards' slides.)



(13) Table 41: this is pretty volatile stuff. I am going to have to ask you to keep it confidential for the time being, although on the face of it, it would seem to be information which should be in the public domain. Parenthetically, I might note my impression that the estimates of unemployment among domestic farm workers aren't worth a great deal. These estimates are by Farm Placement Representatives who are naturally at some pains to demonstrate that this is the best of all possible worlds. They are guesses at best, and the temptation must be irresistible to err on the side of underreporting domestic farm unemployment.

(14) Tables 49, 50, and 51: I am not fully satisfied with these price-spread data, since California experience may be substantially different from general U.S. experience. On the basis of data now in hand, however, I am emboldened to feel that a just increase in the wages of casual farm workers -- say, 100% -- need create barely a ripple in the cost of living of the consumer. The problem is how to pass the increase along the line from consumer to worker without it being blown out of all proportion by the variety of interested parties through whose hands it would have to pass under existing arrangements. Perhaps I should say that the problem is how to alter these existing arrangements.

I am sorry to have to ask you to deal with these materials circumspectly, Bard, but I fear I must. Nothing would please me more than seeing them flying from every masthead, for goodness knows I have as much pride of authorship as the next fellow. But if this were done, whatever usefulness I may have would be brought to an end. I am largely dependent upon the indulgences of assorted powers that be for the continued prosecution of my researches. I don't relish the cloak-and-dagger game, and am probably pretty clumsy at it. But the ground rules are laid down by my playmates.

Therefore, please avoid circulating the material -- such as that in Tables 30, 31, and 41 -- which would readily be linked with me by the powers. The rest of the data are from public documents of one sort or another. All I've done is pull the stuff out and arrange it. You may use this stuff in any way you like. But even here, please don't use my name.

If you have any questions or comments concerning the enclosed materials, or the points I have raised in this letter -- and I hope very much that you will -- please let me have them.

Under separate cover, I am returning your slides. It took two weeks to have the copies made. Hope you weren't unduly inconvenienced. Everyone who sees them is impressed. By the way, have you heard that Harvey Richards has made a swing through the Deep South and made up similar sets concerning the sharecroppers and tenant farmers down there? As an old Georgian, I imagine you're interested...

Best personal regards to you and your wife.

Cordially,

Henry Anderson

P.S. Forgot to call your attention to Figure #4, which may be of special interest to you. It shows graphically that there are several important crops in which relatively stable numbers of braceros are employed almost the whole year around. Why couldn't those jobs be filled by domestics? You answer that one.




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## FARM LABOR PROJECT

Route 4, Box 113-X

VISALIA, CALIFORNIA

March 7, 1958

Henry P. Anderson  
670 Doane Avenue  
Claremont, Calif.

Dear Hank:

Let me start off by thanking you for your magnum opus which, I must admit, I have not had a chance to sit down to; but from my casual perusal I know that it contains a fund of exceedingly valuable material.

We have a projected program of working with braceros in their camps on a personal basis, thinking primarily of helping the men meet some of their desires for education and recreation. One of the real reasons for getting into this program is for having closer contact with it to get some first hand knowledge of the problem.

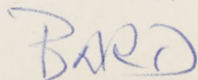
In attempting to get materials to substantiate the need for such a program, we have run into some obstacles which help us understand the reasons for your caution in using Tables 30, 31 & 41. I can assure you that we will not violate your trust in this matter. Perhaps you would have some suggestions which we might incorporate in our proposed project; I am enclosing a copy of the prospectus -- we would appreciate your critical evaluation.

The slides were returned in good order, I hope they were of some value to you. The accompanying title sheets have not yet been returned, I am wondering if they were mailed or perhaps they have not yet found their way out from that pile of stuff on your desk!

It is good to know that Harvey Richards has made a photographic study of share croppers and tenant farmers in the deep south. The next time I am in the Bay Area I shall try to contact him with the hope of getting to see these slides.

I have been watching the periodicals -- hoping to see a report on the bracero program by one Henry P. Anderson or some pseudonym. The need for such an article is becoming greater every day and with our recession coming it seems to me even more imperative that a story such as you could write should reach the general public.

Sincerely,



Bard McAllister

BMCA:o

Regional Office for Northern California, Nevada and Utah



670 Doane Avenue,  
Claremont, Calif.,  
March 8, 1958

*McAllister*  
Dear Bard,

I find that I neglected to send you the folder of slide titles at the time I mailed the slides, and am taking immediate steps to correct this oversight.

I'm very much interested in the possibility that the Friends may put somebody into the field to work with braceros. I'll be happy to help in whatever ways I can. You ask for the names and addresses of some employers of braceros. I was discussing this very point with Doug Still a few days ago, and he told me that Glenn Brockway and the other people in the B.E.S. in San Francisco have no use for the attitude of Hayes and his friends. They will not hesitate to name names (that is, Brockway), says Rev. Still, provided you have some good reason for requesting them. If so, this is truly a revelation, not to say a revolution. In the event you have trouble with the San Francisco crew, however, here is some of the information I have gathered in my wanderings:

- (1) San Joaquin County Farm Production Association, Stockton. Manager: Wm. Duarte. Far and away the State's leading employer of Mexican National labor.
- (2) Imperial Valley Farmers Association, Fairfield Road, El Centro. Manager: Bert Harrigan. Second largest user of Nationals.
- (3) Growers Farm Labor Association, Salinas. Manager: Jack Bias. Third largest.
- (4) Northern California Growers Association, Yuba City.
- (5) Yolo Growers, Woodland.
- (6) San Diego County Farmers, P.O. Box R, Old San Diego Station, San Diego 10; Manager: Ivan A. Wood.
- (7) Progressive Growers Association, San Jose. Manager: Floyd Beringer.
- (8) Ventura County Citrus Growers Committee, P.O. Box 191, 812 Railroad Avenue, Santa Paula. Manager: Wm. Tolbert.
- (9) Citrus Growers, Inc. 506 N. Los Angeles St., Anaheim.
- (10) Valley Farm Labor Association, Suisun.
- (11) Agricultural Labor Bureau, Fresno.
- (12) Watsonville Growers Association, Watsonville.
- (13) Ventura County Farm Labor Association, 1608 E. 5th St., Oxnard.



- (14) Sonoma County Farm Labor Association, Santa Rosa.
- (15) ~~xxxxx~~ Artesia Growers Association, 18841 S. Corby Ave., Artesia.
- (16) Desert Growers Association, 1551 Main St., Brawley.
- (17) San Gabriel Valley Labor Association, P.O. Box B, Irwindale;  
Manager: J.W. Kennedy.
- (18) Sacramento River Farm Labor Association, 1005 8th St., Sacramento.
- (19) Hemet Valley Growers, Hemet.
- (20) Southern California Farmers Association, 8706 Arrow Highway,  
Cucamonga. Manager: Ray Orton.
- (21) Riverside Agricultural Association, Jurupa and Pedley Roads,  
Arlington. Manager: Edward Boteler.
- (22) San Antonio Employment Association, 4918 Mission Blvd., Ontario.  
Manager: Blythe Rosenberger.
- (23) Orange County Vegetable Growers Association, 14932 S. Harbor,  
Santa Ana.
- (24) Citrus Labor Association of Santa Barbara County. 5030 Carpinteria  
Ave., Santa Barbara.
- (25) San Fernando Valley Labor Association, 10800 Sepulveda Blvd.,  
San Fernando.
- (26) Redlands-Highlands Farm Labor Association, Santa Ana Cone Camp,  
Redlands. Manager: John Earl.
- (27) Corona Growers, Corona-Elsinore Highway, Corona.
- (28) Santa Ana Farm Labor Association, 16621 Bushrod, Santa Ana.
- (29) Southern California Vegetable Growers, Lomita.
- (30) Arroyo Grande Farm Labor Association, San Luis Obispo.
- (31) Palo Verde Cotton Growers Association, Palo Verde.
- (32) Colorado River Farmers, Blythe.
- (33) San Benito County Farm Labor Association, Hollister.
- (34) Delta Farm Group, Isleton.
- (35) Holland Farm Labor Association, Courtland.
- (37) Midvalley Farm Labor Association, Cutler.

This is about two-thirds of the State's farm labor associations which employ braceros, and it includes all the big associations. Following are a few individual employers:

- (1) Johnston Fruit Co., Quinientos and Salsipuedes Sts., Santa Barbara.
- (2) Arthur Icardo, 17255 Exeter Pl., Northridge.
- (3) Coit Ranches, Mendota.
- (4) Campo Blanco, Las Posas Road, Camarillo.
- (5) James and Buckley, Dos Palos.
- (6) ~~xxxxx~~ Davis Ranch Co., Hueneme Road, Oxnard.
- (7) Shrier Brothers, Delano.
- (8) A. Sanzoni and J. J. Gazarra, Merced.
- (9) Ojima Bros. and H. Hiromoto, Woodland.
- (10) DeCandia Farms, Stockton.

I cannot guarantee that all these associations and individuals are still operating at this moment, or that they are all still employing (or planning to employ) Mexican Nationals. I would be surprised, however, if more than half a dozen had withdrawn from the program.



A few comments:

(1) I know personally the managers or managers' representatives of the San Diego County Farmers, Progressive Growers Association, Ventura County Citrus Growers Committee, San Gabriel Valley Labor Assoc., Southern California Farmers Assoc., Riverside Agricultural Assoc., San Antonio Employment Assoc., and Yuma Growers Cooperative Assoc. (The last named was omitted from the listing above because I assumed, perhaps wrongly, that you were interested only in the California scene.) Although some are a good deal more intelligent and sensitive than others, and none operate on the basis of assumptions which I can share, all are perfectly decent men. I have yet to meet a Simon Legree in California agriculture.

(2) Proposals such as yours would, I think, meet with greatly varied responses. I know one association manager who would probably feel -- and with considerable justification -- that any such proposal would be an unwonted reflection on the good work he is doing. This camp is unique in that it has a recreation director; the manager himself is practically a social worker among his men; morale is high. I know another association manager who relates with pride that he has told Catholic priests to "get the hell out" of his camp. He states with equal pride that he would say the same to any Protestants who came around. The Friends Service Committee would, I think, qualify in his view for consignment to the flames. I know a third association manager, on the other hand, who would probably look with favor upon a program of the sort I believe you have in mind. His camp is the only one I have ever visited in which a teacher from the Adult Education Division of the local school district holds regular evening classes in conversational English.

(3) I'm sure the FSC doesn't contemplate putting more than one person into the field. There is a real question, then, where this person might be most useful. In my considered opinion, the associations which operate in Los Angeles, San Bernardino, West Riverside (not East Riverside), Orange, Ventura, and Santa Barbara Counties are head and shoulders above those elsewhere in California -- not to mention the rest of the U.S. -- with respect to wages, food, housing, entertainment, and almost anything else you could name. The worst conditions I have personally observed have been in San Joaquin County. They are probably not much better in Stanislaus, Yolo, Solano, and other adjacent counties. I would suggest that you do your initial spade work up there. Of course, ~~there~~ few braceros are employed in the Northern San Joaquin Valley in the winter, so your field worker should be prepared to make his winter headquarters elsewhere. There's a lot of crop activity at that time of year in Imperial, East Riverside, San Diego Counties, and in the Yuma area. By a happy (unhappy, when you come right down to it) coincidence, conditions in those areas are abominable. Your field worker should be able to help things considerably, provided he didn't get his head broken open. The rugged individualists down there are really rugged -- so long as they are on the end which dishes it out.

(4) You ask ~~you~~ how to make contacts with the association managers and individual employers. Gosh, I've never used the same method twice. In general, I suppose I've gone by something like the following rule of



thumb: in the cases of operations which are strictly on the up-and-up, I don't hesitate to walk right in, ask to see the manager, and lay my cards on the table. In cases where an association is suspected of being more or less a front for exploitation, I can be pretty devious. I may call on the county health officer first, for example, who introduces me to the local director of Agricultural Extension, who introduces me to the Agricultural Commissioner or Farm Placement Representative, who introduces me to the USDL compliance officer, who introduces me to the association manager. En route through a chain of contacts such as this, which ends only when I meet someone who is really close to the throne room, I pick up a lot of cues as to what kind of guy the manager is, what he will listen to and what he won't, what kinds of information he will give and what he won't, etc. The long and the short of it is that by and large I have had more successful dealings with those "villains", the growers, than I have had with certain agencies -- here nameless -- which are working for Uncle Goodie like me, and which one might suppose would be on the same side of the fence as I.

(5) I applaud the decision of the FSC, tentative though it may be. I have long thought that some sort of combined recreation director, teacher, and social worker was the answer to most of the day-to-day shortcomings of the bracero program. But there are other shortcomings as well. Whenever I begin to think of ways in which the myriad abuses attendant upon the program might be ameliorated -- heaven knows, it's a fertile field for thought -- I am given pause. I wonder if, in the long haul, it is much of a kindness to patch and tinker with a dehumanizing regime in an effort to make it bearable. If the bracero program is iniquitous at the core, then perhaps the greater part of kindness is to bend every effort to hastening its extirpation. This is a tough decision, when you consider the poor guys who are out in the fields and camps all the while the congressional hearings, etc., are dragging through their course. But you and I and Galarza and the handful of other people who are really in this thing have only so much time and so many resources. It would be ~~brice~~ nice if we could do something for the braceros already here and those who will arrive in the near future, and at the same time strike at the roots of the system. I wonder if we can. I wonder if we mustn't choose between two hard alternatives: filing away at the cutting edges of the present system so that it no longer wrecks men absolutely; or attacking the present system where it lives, so that it may no longer damage men even a little bit or even potentially. The latter alternative, of course, presupposes the substitution of something at once decent and workable for the present system.

Maybe my thinking is insufficiently flexible. Talk of "hard alternatives" is always apt to seem that way. Do let me have your ideas.

Faithfully,

P.S. I have a roster of the several hundred members of the San Joaquin Production Association, if you decide to push things up there.



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**FARM LABOR PROJECT**

Route 4, Box 113-X

**VISALIA, CALIFORNIA**

July 8, 1958

Henry Anderson  
670 Doane Avenue  
Claremont, Calif.

Dear Hank:

I was in Edward F. Hayes's office the other day discussing the subtle effects of Public Law 78 on the domestic worker. As I got up to leave he asked me if I had read your "Social Justice & Foreign Contract Labor". He became very belligerent in tone and expression and stated that you would have to make an accounting to his office and the Department of Labor for the charges you made.

Perhaps he has already contacted you and you are now in the process of confirming your statements. At least I thought I should let you know what was in the wind. This flare up may be very detrimental to your study; however, I hope that Hayes et al have the wisdom to handle it without tying it part and parcel to your public health research. I can also see some very valuable results in pointing out to all parties how difficult it is to administrate, with justice, a program which is basically evil. A member of our Committee who is in favor of the bracero program has often said that the surest way to kill it was to insist upon rigid compliance. The kind of information which you have will probably help toward this end. If you find it necessary to document the statements you made in "Social Justice", I trust you will make it available to the general public as well as to the federal and state officials.

During the same interview Hayes indicated that the Service Committee could never have any effect on the farm labor problem because of "the company they keep". On the 17th of July a committee is going to call upon him to try to impress upon him the fact that if a solution is to be found to the farm labor problem, representatives from all points of view must sit down. I don't know that this session will have any real effect, but I hope it will let him know there are citizens who feel that there are more people involved in the problem of farm labor than just the growers.

Sincerely yours,

Bard McAllister

BMCA:o



670 Doane Avenue,  
Claremont, California,  
September 12, 1958

Bard McAllister,  
Farm Labor Project,  
P.O. 4, Box 113-X,  
Visalia, Calif.

Dear Bard:

I received your letter of September 8 about 15 minutes after I had posted mine to you. Everything I said in my letter still goes. I sincerely hope you will give it your most earnest consideration. While I have been feeling sorry for myself during the unhappy events of the past two months, Mr. Tagaban has actually borne the brunt of the cruelties of the Department of Labor in the form of almost daily harassment and grillings by every petty (and I do mean petty) bureaucrat at the El Centro Reception Center. Now, as - told you, these gentlemen have cut off his source of livelihood. Anything we can do to make up to Mr. Tagaban the torment he has suffered will be all too little. I repeat, give this your prayerful consideration.

Now, you raise a different point in your letter of September 8. It is an interesting point, one which I have mulled over a great deal, but not heretofore taken action on because I was not sure there were sufficient grounds. The events of this week have changed all that. This has now very decidedly become a civil liberties case. There are at least two sets of liberties at stake, and both have been ruthlessly trampled upon. The first is the liberty of myself and other American citizens to conduct a piece of serious research which indirectly touches upon the activities of tax-supported agencies. This freedom should not, I think, be jeopardized simply and solely because I have expressed to a private audience some grave reservations as to the desirability of the program under study. The second set of liberties is those theoretically enjoyed by the braceros themselves. Article 35 of the International Agreement states that nationals shall impartially and expeditiously the rights granted under the laws of the United States. It is argued, too, that the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of Mexico are implicitly extended to braceros working in the U.S. In other words, the workers are theoretically covered by double assurances of freedom of speech, association, etc. The action of the Department of Labor has unilaterally stripped from them these freedoms. ~~For~~ It should be remembered that all our



Interviewing has been on a scrupulously voluntary basis, and it would be a serious error to think that the research project has been the sole beneficiary of the hours that our informants have donated in talking with us. Our informants have, with very few exceptions, been heartbreakingly grateful to have been given the opportunity to talk to us. In most cases, it is the first and last time in their entire experience as a bracero when someone has addressed them with respect and listened to them with sympathy. Shall the Department of Labor be permitted to take away this opportunity on any grounds whatsoever -- particularly on the grounds that I have revealed myself in one of my writings as loving my brother the bracero not wisely, but too well?

I say the Department of Labor must not be permitted to do so, unless the civil libertarians of the country are prepared to concede the Department has the right to operate a slave labor program. I am afraid that I am sometimes forced to conclude this is what the Department would like, but I shall try to save it from its own demonic impulses. I'm sure you will agree that the very least and lowliest among us -- and they are surely the braceros -- must enjoy, even as you and I, the right to talk with whomsoever they choose, whenever they choose, and about whatever they choose. The absolute guarantee of this right is especially important at such a site as the reception centers, which are paid for by the American people, and which operate under the majesty of the Federal government. When this right is settled unequivocally, I trust we can move forward to clear up the widespread denial of basic liberties in the bracero labor camps.

In any case, my answer to your question is emphatically "yes." I would like very much to get in touch with the ACLU and anyone else who subscribes to the quaint old notion that our liberties are inviolable and indivisible, even by administrative order of ~~him~~ Mr. Robert Goodwin, Chief of the Bureau of Employment Insecurity. Please send me at once the names and addresses of the "several lawyers" you mentioned in your letter, so that I may get in direct touch with them. It would be helpful, too, if you could give me a little background, so that I might know if there were one of them who had some particular knowledge of and interest in the farm labor problem, for example. Also please tell me to whom in the AFSC hierarchy I might write the full details of the case.

Enclosed is a partial "bill of particulars" I have drawn up since receiving your letter. It will give you some idea of the specific reasons why I feel the Department of Labor and allied agencies have stepped beyond all conscionable bounds. When I am in touch with the civil liberties lawyers, I can and will amplify this "bill" in many particulars.

One final word, Bard. I do not have any funds to wage a legal battle. Whatever I could spare I have already spent for the services of a non-civil liberties lawyer down here. He charged me a great deal to tell me that I should do nothing in the present instance. He said, drily, that the full prosecution of a legal case is an expensive proposition -- the implication being that only the wealthy can afford the luxury of obtaining justice. I prefer not to believe him, and trust that satisfactory arrangements can be made between the Service Committee and the ACLU.

Sincerely,

Henry P. Anderson



Draft

670 Doane Avenue,  
Claremont, Calif.,  
Nov. 5, 1958

Bard McAllister,  
Farm Labor Project,  
Rt. 4, Box 113-X,  
Visalia, Calif.

Dear Bard:

I ~~th~~ have thought a good deal about your letter of Oct. 27. Because you are a friend as well as a Friend, I am going to be candid in my reply, in a way I did not feel I should or could be during our conference with Messrs. Thiermann and Quinn on Oct. 22.

I had to smile a ~~trifle~~ ironically at your exhortation that I treat in confidence the information from Potter, lest valuable contacts and sources of information be frozen up. I presume you refer to your own contacts and sources, since I no longer have any in government circles, including the Public Health Service. However, don't worry. I will treat the material confidentially.

Now, as far as your questions about the AFSC and the University are concerned. I am afraid you raise them too late. In all truth, I do not believe there is anything that can be done to salvage the AFSC position at this date, any more than my research and reputation can be salvaged. I am reminded of the last thing Mr. Thiermann said to me at our conference: "I would be less than candid if I didn't tell you that I think you should bear some of the responsibility along with us." Although I held my tongue, I found this not only offensively condescending and patronizing, but completely at variance with the facts of the situation. I would be less than candid if I didn't tell you that I have borne all the responsibility that has been borne by anybody for the past four months, and the AFSC has borne none whatsoever. Or so it looks to me. Perhaps it looks differently to others.

During those four months I kept you and Mr. Quinn well posted as ~~the~~ the repercussions of the distribution of my statement mounted and mounted. Day by day I waited for some sign of at least the stirrings of compensatory action. All I got were hollow expressions of "hope that this won't harm your research" (in the face of the most vicious harm already well under way) and "some good may yet come of all this" (I still have no idea what this might mean). I dropped as many hints as I felt I could without coming right out and saying "How about some help?" I drew back from the direct request because in the first place I felt it would be almost insulting to point out the obvious, and in the second place I did not feel ~~that~~ I should have to go on my knees begging for something that was properly mine as a matter of course. In this I was guilty of the sin of pride, I freely confess.



So, the weeks and then the months dragged by. Things went from bad to worse to impossible. The University, which I tried to avoid implicating, but which I had thought would take my part if implication were unavoidable, chose instead to bow to the wishes of the Farm Bureau Federation, Farm Placement Service, and Bureau of Employment Insecurity. I suppose I went a little mad as blow after blow rained down and I had to absorb them defenselessly. Only one person in the country showed any real interest in acting on my behalf, and for reasons I need not go into here I had to turn down his offers. His name: Ernesto Galarza.

The point of no return was reached in September. The Department of Labor issued its firm order, the University accepted it without a murmur, and gave me orders to close up shop -- and to stop making trouble for it.

It is not quite fair for you to say you are concerned about my reaction "that the AFSC should not discuss (the) situation with the University." This is not my reaction, but one that has been enforced upon me. My reaction is that the AFSC should have discussed the situation with the University two or three months ago, but that there is no very useful purpose to be served by the action now. Indeed, there could be a very hurtful consequence, if there were any reason to believe that the AFSC was approaching the University at my suggestion. This would be a direct contravention of the orders issued me by the University in September. And, of course, if the AFSC were to go to the University at this date, it would be a direct outgrowth of our conference of October 22. In case you are wondering, I suggested that meeting not for the purpose of planning action which I knew would be too late, but to satisfy my curiosity as to what the AFSC had been thinking about since May 24, and why it had apparently not occurred to any of you to call such a meeting long ago. I will confess there was a wee seed of hope within me that one of you would volunteer spontaneously to approach the University, or take some other indicated action, in which case I could say in good conscience that I had not influenced the decision, and had hence not flouted the orders I have received from my superiors. As our interview neared its close, however, nothing had been volunteered, so I suggested something of the sort, more ironically than anything else, knowing that I would have to turn you down if you accepted my suggestion.

"If the AFSC remains mum aren't we in essence concurring with the opposition? We should be in the position of seeking truth." I say "yes" to both the question and the affirmation. The trouble is that the entire matter is now a closed issue as far as "the opposition" is concerned. The Department of Labor took a chance that you would remain mum while it did its hatchet work, and its gamble paid off. The precedent is now on the books, and an informal sort of statute of limitations has expired. The Department of Labor now feels it is absolutely invulnerable, as witness the fact Walter Francis has bragged openly, "It is going to be a long time before anybody else gets in here to do any research." Witness, too, the fact the Department feels it can afford to ignore an inquiry from a U.S. Congressman (James Roosevelt) just as arrogantly as it ignored mine. The Department's only response to Mr. Roosevelt's inquiry was to notify ~~me~~ my superiors at the University that I was trying to stir up more trouble, and I was promptly slapped down.

I don't see that there's a thing the AFSC can do to touch the government agencies, the University, or anybody else, at this date. If the AFSC wants to



do something simply in order to feel better in its own mind and heart, that's another matter. I would wonder, however, whether there's anything you can do even in this direction, by virtue of the rule of unanimity. We are all interested in seeking truth, of course, but the search becomes a pretty hopeless affair if one hobbles oneself at the outset with the logical and moral fallacy that truth must lie somewhere in between two extreme positions.

Finally, there's nothing that I can say regarding possible ways in which you might be able to follow up on the consequences of actions already taken. I've already said too much. Anything you do, you see, about which I have ~~previous~~ foreknowledge, becomes proscribed, since a free reading of the orders I have received requires me to cry halt to it, whatever it might be. On the other hand, anything about which I do not have foreknowledge is presumably permissible -- within the bounds of good sense, of course. If the American Friends Service Committee wants to do something simply because it believes it is the right thing to do, who can object? I am not the keeper of the AFSC conscience now any more than I have been in the past.

Sincerely,

Henry P. Anderson

- ① "You are farmed into the same bush as  
Balanya."
- ② If statement ill-advised, why  
circulated?